1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

for the evening meal, Rosary, and sleep. Electricity has made his time-table only slightly less dependent on the times of the rising and setting sun.

Increased spending-power, a more varied diet now including a variety of preserved and non-local foods, and the replacement of home-produced cotton by purchased materials for making clothes, have all contributed to the extension of shopping facilities in the villages. Apart from the 'general store', specialised shops have also made their appearance - butchers, pharmacists, clothing shops, and so on. The 1939-45 war brought flour and bread rationing and the end of home-baking - hence a further village specialisation (see p. 182). Since the War, the number of vans touring the countryside every week has increased rapidly to bring a variety of wares to the door of even the most lonely farmhouse. The *petrolju* van was early in the field, for the rural Maltese have long relied on paraffin for both cooking and such heating as the houses receive. Yet another addition in recent years to the diet of the poorer classes has been the free distributions of food (cheese, rice, corn-meal and flour) made by C.A.R.E. and by Catholic Relief Services (cheese, beans, flour, etc.), another organisation distributing surplus United States food supplies abroad.

Village housing is changing more slowly. The traditional Maltese rural home was a flat-roofed dwelling built round an enclosed courtyard, from which a staircase frequently led to an upper floor. The courtyard was the centre of domestic life and much of the regular work of the household was done here. A door, large enough to take a cart, opened on to the street. Windows on outside walls were small and rare. In many of the older parts of the villages, accommodation for animals and stores adjoins the rooms occupied by the family, the whole forming a compact economic and domestic unit. Water was carried from a village pump and sanitation, if any, was limited to independent cess-pits requiring periodic emptying. In winter such premises were liable to be very cold; in the heat of summer the rough roads of beaten earth readily produced a fine dust which can only have had harmful effects on the widespread trachoma and similar ailments.

Nowadays much of this survives only in the memory of the older people. Only some village streets in Gozo are not now surfaced; mains sewerage has been extended to all the larger villages of Malta; electricity is absent only in north-western Gozo; familiar red telephone kiosks have appeared all over the Islands; the larger villages in Malta have cinemas, in addition to much older Band Club buildings.

The essential features of the village society within which the Maltese farmer lives today may be summarised thus in conclusion:-

Economically, there has been a change from the independent, subsistent family unit to a diversified and inter-dependent occupational structure in the village, along with a realisation of the impossibility of maintaining Maltese agriculture in its traditional form without 'artificial' support. Materially, the village is seen to have benefited from a wide range of developments which have improved it as a place in which to live for the Maltese countryman with his now greater range of demands - and the buying-power with which to achieve them, thanks to war-time siege and subsequently to Government subsidy and guarantee. Socially, literacy and the awareness of a different way of life beyond the village have brought to the younger generation an intense dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction not only with the social regime of the village, even in its present broadened and functionally diversified form, but also with the farming on which the community has depended.

Thus farming in its present form is waning and the Maltese farmer as he was in the recent past - and still is among the older generation - is a disappearing individual. If the clash between the present younger generation and the old order can be resolved and if the retreat from the land can be stemmed at all, a different kind of agriculture will emerge with a new type of farmer and a changed rural society.

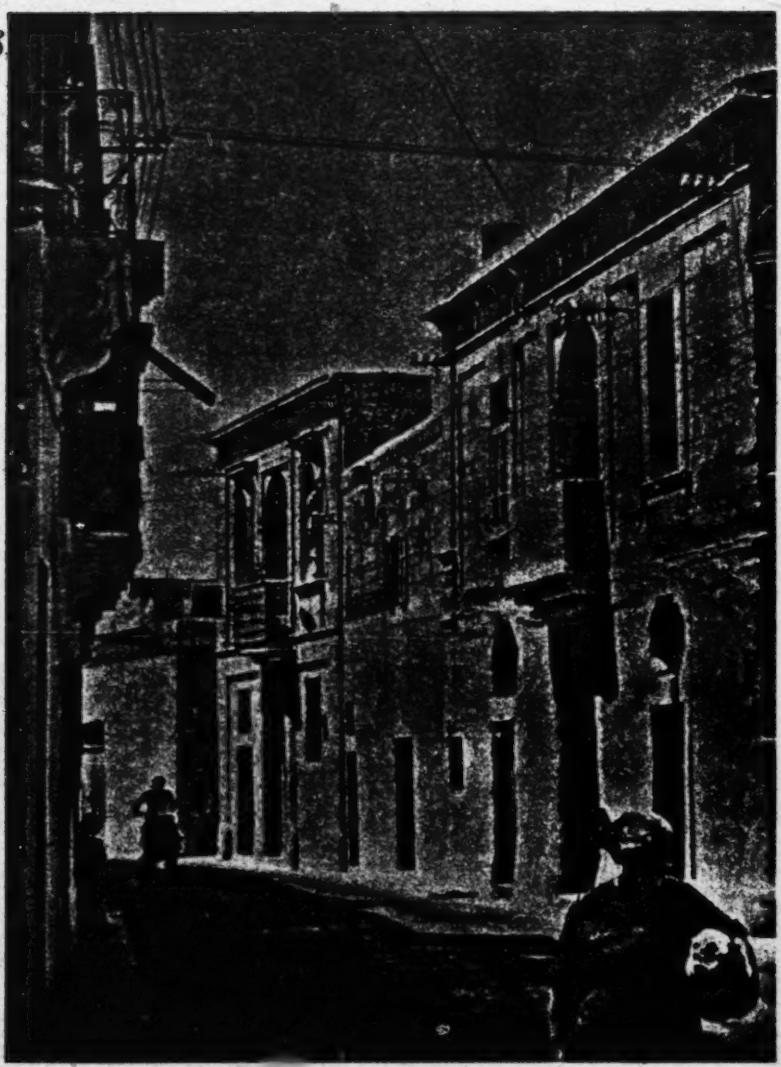
REFERENCES

1. Census of the Maltese Islands 1948. Table 53.
2. C.A.R.E. - Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere.

Note: For a fuller consideration see R. W. Boxley: 'The Individual and Changing Rural Society in Malta', Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1966.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

363
341
342



2. A village street

[facing P. 33]

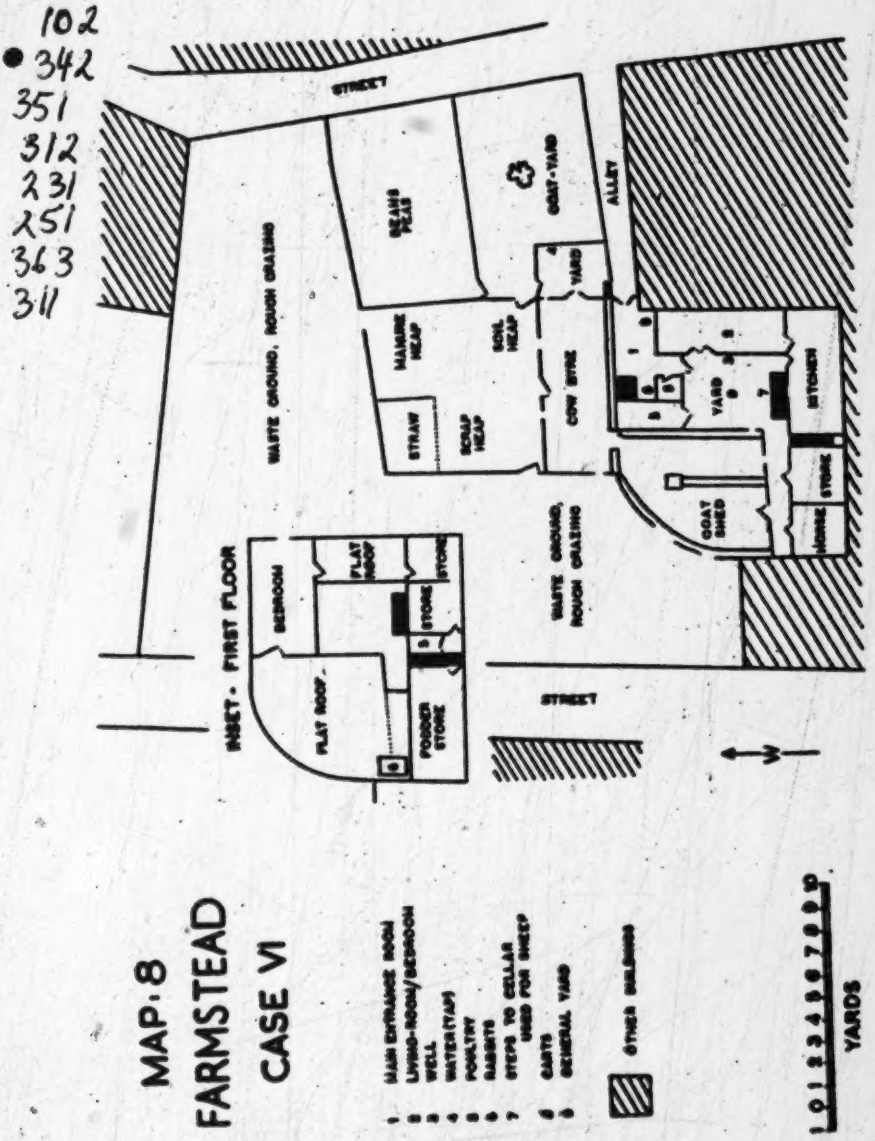
600 authorities each year.

*159 474 234 434 [432] Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsman with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of [454] the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 423 234 [429] Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 342 351 423 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the ground floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

102
342
351
312
231
251
363
311



[following p. 102]

NOTES

000 [103] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (b/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Welte, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[529] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/266).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made 1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

although the Maltese form was probably dictated by the need to cover the head when entering a church. Its one drawback is that it takes up a lot of space, more space, unfortunately, than is available in the motor-bus, modern Malta's form of land transport. Let it be hoped that it will survive these disabilities, for it is not only unique but also an asset if those of the younger generation who have abandoned it in favour of the banal dress of everywhere else would only realize the fact, enhancing beauty while discreetly veiling any imperfections. These young ladies should ponder the words of Monsieur André Maurois in his little sketch of Malta:

> When its wearer moves, the *faldetta* is filled with air, and the Maltese girls, tripping in twos and threes along the streets, look like flotillas of graceful barques with black sails, blown along their course by the wind of destiny.

Oddly enough another French visitor and Academician anticipated by just a century, and in almost the same terms, Monsieur Maurois's charming flight, or perhaps echo, of fancy. Monsieur de Lamartine, visiting Malta with his English wife in 1832, describes the *ghonnella* as

> a half-cloak of black silk . . . of a light texture caught by a breeze, suggesting the sail of a skiff whose capricious folds alternately conceal and reveal the mysterious figure of the wearer, which seems able to escape at will from its embrace.

In the Malta of an earlier age, when the lives of Maltese women and girls were closely circumscribed, the *ghonnella* was not the only aid to their seclusion. Those who wander about the country districts will notice here and there that the older farmhouses have no windows giving on to the street; the Maltese countrywoman, like her Spanish sister, had to turn her face inward, not outward. But what the houses had, and some still retain, were stone brackets on the outer wall, made to hold the pots of sweet basil which showed that

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

562 a marriageable daughter lived within. One pot of basil to
342 each marriageable girl. So the potential swain could tell at a
584 glance whereabouts to loiter for a discreet preview and
824 what address, should he be interested, to give to the marriage-
291 broker.

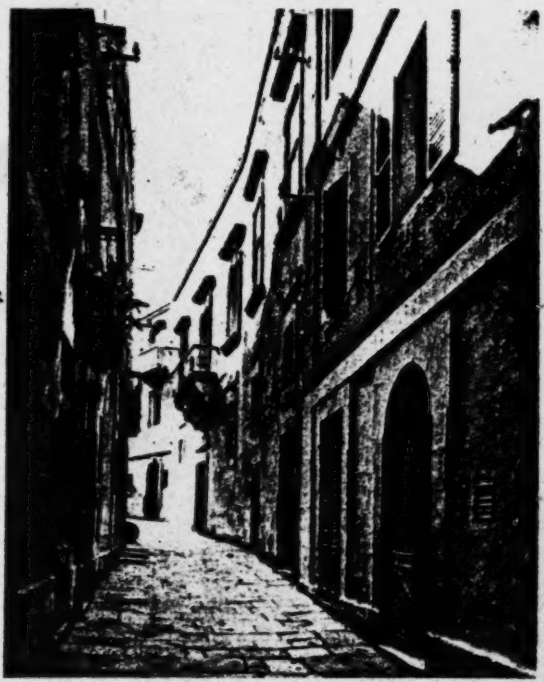
[pp 31–55 of Text not processed. Plates facing pp 40,41,48 and 49 have been processed].

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

344
743

SACRED INFIRMARY: PART OF LONG WARD AFTER REMOVAL OF PARTITION WALL
[See pp. 66 and 141.]

363
342



AUBERGE OF ENGLAND AND HOUSE OF SIR OLIVER STARKEY, VITTORIOSA (BIRGU)
[See pp. 69 and 140.]

[facing P. 96]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

341
186
333

MAIN GATE INTO MDINA, WITH ARMS OF GRAND MASTER MANOEL DE VILHENA
[See p. 89.]

INSIDE OF SAME, WITH ARMS OF INGUANEZ FAMILY
[See p. 92.]

THE LATE BARONESS INGUANEZ ALIGHTING FROM HER OLD FAMILY CALÈCHE, MDINA

291
493
● 342
373

[facing P. 104, (A)]

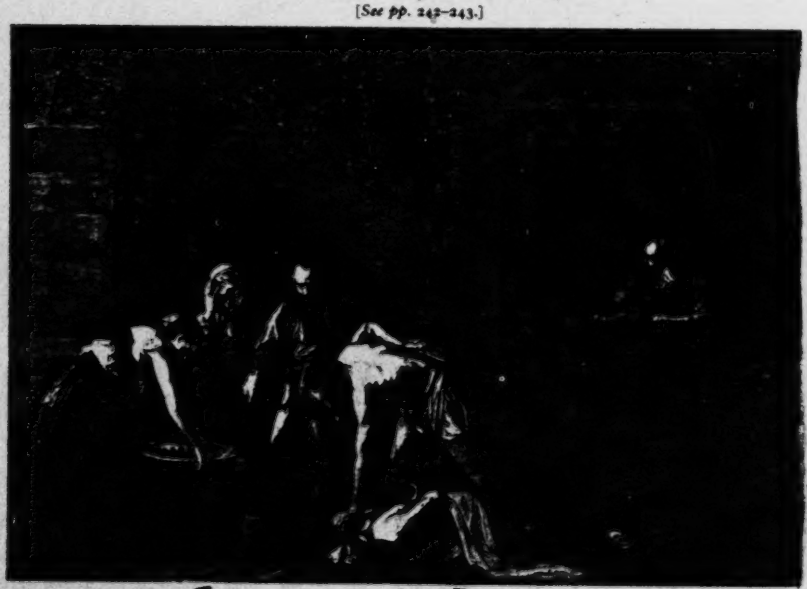
9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

342
352
353

NAVE OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA, WITH ITS TAPESTRIES DISPLAYED
[See pp. 177-180.]

BEHEADING OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY CARAVAGGIO, IN THE ORATORY OF S. JOHN'S, VALETTA
[See pp. 242-243.]

532



[facing p. 129]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

344
346

QUEEN SQUARE AND THE ROYAL LIBRARY, VALETTA
[See pp. 199-200.]

892

A PROCESSION EMERGING FROM S. JOHN'S

796
363
342

STREET IN SIĠĠIEWI
Note the "fat" mouldings.
[See p 67.]

[facing P. 192]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER XVII

Casals and Countryside

311 656 ●342 OWING TO THE DENSITY AND RAPID GROWTH OF THE population, to the lack of soil and to the abundance of excellent building-stone, which not only takes on in the course of ages a beautiful patina but is easy to work, the proportion of Malta's built-up area to the area under cultivation is probably uniquely high. Unique is probably also the "Red Soil Law" whereby anyone about to erect a house is compelled to dig up and hand over to the Government (which removes it for him) any soil there may be on the site of the future structure, so that the precious earth may not be buried and lost for ever to the island's cultivators.

133 311. So precious is it that the smallest pockets, however inaccessibly they may be situated, are jealously conserved. Malta is low-lying—in the words of Tasso

giace Malta fra l'onde occulta, e bassa

—and only on the thyme-covered cliffs of the south-western stretch of coast does it rise as high as 800 feet. These cliffs are wild and rugged and sheer, but here and there, as they drop precipitously to the sea, narrow ledges of earth-covered rock cling precariously to their face. But even these *redums*, as [342] they are termed—the like of which I have seen only on that hermit-inhabited spur of Mount Athos which is called Kerasia—are brought into use by the indomitable Maltese farmer of the locality, who sometimes lives in the caves beside them with his family and his animals as his Stone Age predecessor lived in them before him.

311 34 103 243 Thus every nook and cranny of these islands is eloquent of their past: towns; casals; little country chapels, farmhouses and isolated gateways, which are often adorned with

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

361 There is nothing in the rest of the Old World quite like
363 the casals of Malta. Mostly built in the seventeenth and
eighteenth centuries, the older parts of them consist of narrow
342 winding streets except for the square facing the parish church. The houses, of uniform height, present a front of uninterrupted masonry, the façades broken only by the boxed balconies typical of Malta. Here and there the sculptured porticoes and elaborately decorated windows and cornices of a nobleman's mansion interrupt the simplicity of the other houses, but the streets preserve that enchanting homogeneity of period which on a larger scale distinguishes Valetta from other cities of its size. They are vernacular architecture in the fullest sense of the term. The stonework bears the lovely patina of age; any patches of garden are out of sight. In the more densely inhabited parts of the island the growth of population may bring about a confluence of two or even three casals, as in the case of Attard, Lija and Balzan.

To wander about these great stone villages by full moon or on a night lit by the illuminations and fireworks of the annual *festa* is to experience a translation in time more realistic than any suggested by stage or screen.

643 Samuel Taylor Coleridge records that it was Sir Alexander Ball's "custom to visit each casal throughout the island once, if not twice, in the course of each summer: and during my residence there I had the honour of being his constant, and most often his only, companion in these rides; to which I owe some of the happiest and most instructive hours of my life." A mid-twentieth century Governor, Sir Charles Bonham-Carter, followed with success this practice of regular weekly visits to the casals.

2

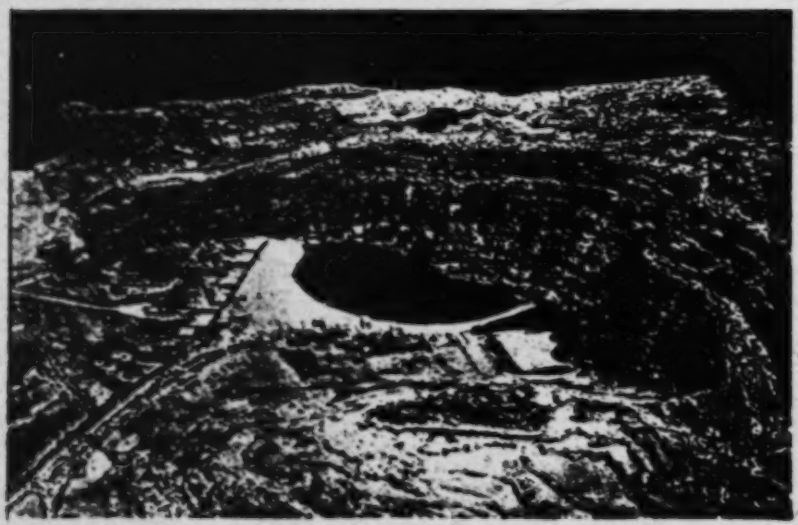
794 The Maltese are among the most devoted sons and daughters of the Roman Catholic Church. They are, men and women alike, assiduous at their public devotions; there

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
GOZO

341
342

CHARACTERISTIC STONE BALCONY, VICTORIA, GOZO
[See p. 220.]

133



LANDLOCKED BAY OF KAWRA, GOZO
[See p. 220.]

[facing P. 224]

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

Among the more accessible survivals of the Order is the large and impressive Fort Chambray, which commands the island's principal port of Mġarr. This stronghold was built, as we have already seen, by Jacques de Chambray, one of the last of the great Admirals of the Order, when he was Governor[1] of Gozo in the middle of the eighteenth century so that the island should no longer be at the mercy of every raiding enemy. Not that Fort Chambray had ever to endure a siege at the hands of the Barbary pirates. Its value in that direction was mainly a prophylactic one. But it did serve a military purpose during the death-pangs of the Order in 1798, when the Gozitans under their Governor and three of the Knights shut themselves up within its walls, determined to hold out as long as they could against the surprised French, who had not expected any resistance.

Then there is the Banca Giuratale, a graceful, semicircular Baroque structure which Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena erected at the end of the main square of Victoria as the offices of the Jurats of Gozo. Another was until 1943—alas, that the past tense has to be used here—the charming manor outside Xewkija known as the Torri Gourgion. Although it had fallen somewhat from its high estate and had been reduced to the status of a farmhouse, this unspoiled piece of seventeenth-century rural architecture, embellished by a charming well, yet retained externally all the dignity of that lordly epoch. Its stone drop-boxes alternating with elaborate stone escutcheons, its tall staircase tower topped by a conspicuous dome, its suggestion of the fortified country-house —all these features made it the only structure of its kind in the Maltese Islands.

It is indeed lamentable that it should have had to be razed to the ground in 1943, not by enemy action but to make room for a temporary American aerodrome required in

[1] The Governor of Gozo, known in Maltese as the Hakem, lived in the house in the Citadel which, as has been said, is now the Law Court and Public Registry.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6
Gozo

342 connexion with the invasion of Sicily and destined to be 648 used only once.[1]

Lastly, to prove that Gozo lives not only in the past, let 346 me mention the pilgrimage church of Ta Pinu, a lofty 341 basilica in the beautiful white limestone of the island completed as recently as 1931. This shrine is impressive as an example of modern Romanesque no less than as proof of the active piety of a laborious and God-fearing people.

[1] A public-spirited citizen of Xewkija, Mr L. Zammit Habet, has piously preserved all the carved escutcheons, inscriptions and balcony stones of the Torri Gourgion.

186

Arms of Gozo

[PP. 228 – 232 have not been Processed]